

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 OMB-01 H-02 EB-11 COME-00

ACDA-19 AEC-11 RSR-01 /159 W
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R 221830 Z MAY 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0181

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2970

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2506

E. O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS

PARIS PASS TO SONNENFELD

REF: USNATO 2326

AS HE UNDERTOOK TO DO AT THE MAY 10 PRIVATE MEETING OF NATO
AMBASSADORS (REFTEL), SYG LUNS HAS JUST CIRCULATED PAPER ON
ATLANTIC RELATIONS (PO(73)72). THE PERMREPS WILL DISCUSS
THIS PAPER AT A RESTRICTED SESSION OF THE COUNCIL ON FRIDAY,
MAY 25. TEXT OF LUNS' PAPER FOLLOWS.

BEGIN TEXT

ATLANTIC RELATIONS

1. THE THREE MAIN CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS -
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IN THE WIDER SENSE OF THE WORD - CAN BE IDENTIFIED AS:

DEFENCE AND SECURITY;

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC, IN PARTICULAR RELATING TO THE CONDUCT OF EAST- WEST RELATIONS;

ECONOMIC, COVERING TRADE, MONETARY AND RELATED MATTERS.

IT IS WIDELY ACCEPTED THAT THESE ELEMENTS OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS HAVE AN AFFECT ON EACH OTHER, AND THAT ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN OF THIS. IT IS ALSO GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THAT THEY INVOLVE WIDELY DIFFERING AND COMPLEX ISSUES SO AS TO EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR ALL BEING DEALT WITH IN ONE FORUM.

AREAS FOR RE- EXAMINATION

2. A RE- EXAMINATION OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS WOULD APPEAR TO INVOLVE TWO MAIN FIELDS:

(A) AN EXAMINATION OF BROAD GOALS AND PURPOSES IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING ATLANTIC RELATIONS;

(B) AN EXAMINATION OF PRACTICAL MEASURES DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH ISSUES CURRENTLY AFFECTING ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

BROAD GOALS AND PURPOSES

3. THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP HAVE BEEN THE THE SUBJECT OF REPEATED REDEFINITION OVER THE YEARS. TO MENTION ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT, THERE WAS THE CHARTER OF 1941; THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949; THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THREE OF 1956; THE DECLARATION OF 1957; AND THE REPORT ON THE FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE OF 1967. IN ADDITION, NUMEROUS PARTIAL RESTATEMENTS OF PURPOSES MAY BE FOUND IN THE TWICE- YEARLY MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE. THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE DATED 20 TH OCTOBER, 1972, OF THE MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR OF GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE ENLARGED COMMUNITY CONTAINED STATEMENTS RELEVANT TO BOTH ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.
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4. THERE IS HOWEVER, NO CURRENT STUDY SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED TO A RE- EXAMINATION OF THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP TAKING INTO ACCOUNT MOST RECENT FACTORS.

EXAMINATION OF PRACTICAL MEASURES

5. THE CURRENT ISSUES WHICH HAVE ALREADY LED TO PRACTICAL MEASURES OR MAY REQUIRE THEM IN FUTURE, CAN BE LISTED AS FOLLOWS:

(I) THE SHIFT IN THE EAST- WEST MILITARY BALANCE - REPRESENTED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BROAD PARITY IN THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FIELD AND THE WIDENING GAP BETWEEN THE CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITIES OF NATO FORCES

AND THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT. FOR THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE SOARING COSTS OF MILITARY MANPOWER AND EQUIPMENT REPRESENT AN INCREASINGLY SERIOUS PROBLEM. FOR THE US ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE COSTS OF MAINTAINING FORCES IN EUROPE ARE FELT AS AN AGGRAVATION TO THEIR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM, IN SPITE OF BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS INTENDED TO OFFSET THEM.

THE AD 70 STUDY AND EDIP WERE DESIGNED TO IMPROVE NATO CAPABILITIES IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD. PREPARATIONS FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ALSO RAISE ISSUES RELATING TO BOTH EUROPEAN AND US FORCE LEVELS, AS WELL AS THE GENERAL BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE CENTRAL REGION.

THE OPTIMUM ALLOCATION OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES TO NATO DEFENCE AND THE OPTIMUM SOLUTION TO THE MBFR PROBLEM BOTH DEPEND UPON A PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE AIMS AND GUIDELINES FOR MILITARY PLANNING WITHIN A CHANGING STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT.

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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USMISSION OECD PARIS

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REF: USNATO 2326

(II) CHANGES IN THE EAST- WEST AND US- USSR RELATIONS: THIS ALSO HAS BEEN A MATTER OF FIRST CONCERN WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. THERE HAVE BEEN CONSTANT REVIEWS OF THE CHANGING SITUATION. ALLIANCE POLICIES, FOR EXAMPLE, TOWARDS A CSCE, HAVE STEADILY EVOLVED IN THE LIGHT OF IMPROVED EAST- WEST RELATIONS AS THESE HAVE DEVELOPED IN OTHER FIELDS, SUCH AS SALT AND THE

OSTPOLITIK;

(III) ECONOMIC QUESTIONS DIRECTLY TOUCHING DEFENCE ARE BEING CONSIDERED IN NATO OR THE EUROGROUP. FOR SOME TIME, THE SHARING OF THE BURDEN OF COMMON DEFENCE, INCLUDING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS CONSIDERATIONS, HAS BEEN A PARTICULAR CAUSE OF CONCERN. SOME ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE HAVE BEEN DEALT WITH, BUT A FULL ASSESSMENT OF THE PROBLEM, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE IMPLICATIONS, HAS NOT YET BEEN UNDERTAKEN;

US- EUROPEAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: TRADE QUESTIONS ARE DUE TO
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BE DISCUSSED IN THE GATT NEGOTIATIONS AND PREPARATIONS FOR THESE ARE GOING AHEAD. MONETARY QUESTIONS ARE ALREADY THE SUBJECT OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATION BOTH BILATERALLY AND IN A NUMBER OF MULTILATERAL BODIES. THE ROLE OF THE ENLARGED EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, ALREADY GREAT IN THIS RESPECT, WILL DOUBTLESSLY INCREASE AND MAY ALSO AFFECT ATLANTIC RELATIONS.

(IV) THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY SUPPLIES IN THE WEST:
THIS IS A SUBJECT OF GROWING CONCERN AND STUDY ON A NATIONAL BASIS, BUT HAS NOT YET BEEN EXAMINED IN DEPTH MULTILATERALLY. AN ASSESSMENT IS BEING MADE IN NATO OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE VULNERABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE TO THE INTERRUPTION OF OIL SUPPLIES. HOWEVER, THE WIDER QUESTION OF HOW TO SATISFY ESCALATING DEMAND ON ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS HAS STILL TO BE ADDRESSED ADEQUATELY.

(V) THE EMERGENCE OF JAPAN: THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS HAVE BEEN A PRIME CONCERN OF THE BODIES DEALING WITH TRADE AND MONETARY PROBLEMS. BECAUSE OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF THE ALLIANCE, THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF THE EMERGENCE OF JAPAN, IN THEIR BROADEST SENSE, HAVE NOT BEEN A SUBJECT OF ANY

PROFOUND MULTILATERAL EXAMINATION.

CONCLUSIONS

6. ATLANTIC SECURITY, THE TASK OF SHARING THE BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THIS SECURITY AND EAST- WEST RELATIONS ARE CLEARLY WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF NATO. THERE HAS BEEN NO SUGGESTION THAT THIS SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO BE SO. THERE HAS BEEN NO PROPOSAL FOR A REDRAFTING OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY OR FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM AND MACHINERY OF THE ALLIANCE.

7. THERE WOULD ACCORDINGLY APPEAR TO BE THE FOLLOWING MAIN QUESTIONS CALLING FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION:

(I) WHAT FRESH STUDY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE GOALS AND PURPOSES OF THE ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP? HOW SHOULD SUCH A STUDY

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BE CONDUCTED? IN WHAT FORM SHOULD THE RESULTS OF ANY SUCH STUDY
BE EMBODIED AND PROMULGATED?

(II) HAVING REGARD TO WHAT IS ALREADY BEING DONE, WHAT
FURTHER STUDY IS REQUIRED OF MEASURES, WITHIN THE COMPETENCE
OF NATO, TO DEAL WITH PARTICULAR ISSUES CURRENTLY AFFECTING
ATLANTIC RELATIONS?

RECOMMENDATIONS

8. IF IT IS AGREED THAT THESE ARE THE MAJOR ISSUES
REQUIRING ATTENTION, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES MAY WISH TO
CONSIDER WHETHER MINISTERS SHOULD DIRECT THEIR ATTENTION TO
THESE QUESTIONS WHEN THEY MEET IN COPENHAGEN.

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